

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK FLASH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 207602

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SECTO 10207 ACTIONSECSTATE 30 AUG

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 10207

NODIS

HANDLE AS EXDIS

FOR ENDERS (EB) AND LEWIS (SP) FROM LORD

PLEASE PASS TO MOYNIHAN FOR HIS REVIEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: UNGA SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS THE INTRODUCTION SECTION OF DRAFT NUMBER 10.

GLOBAL CONSENSUS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
INTRODUCTION

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BEGIN TEXT.

1. MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED
COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

2. WE ASSEMBLE HERE THIS WEEK WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND. WE CAN LET THIS OPPORTUNITY SLIP AWAY, OR WE CAN RESPOND TO IT WITH VISION AND COMMON SENSE.

3. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE ITS CHOICE. THERE ARE NO PANACEAS AVAILABLE -- ONLY CHALLENGES. BUT THE PROPOSALS THAT I SHALL ANNOUNCE TODAY ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT ARE A PROGRAM OF PRACTICAL STEPS, RESPONDING TO THE EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE HAVE MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP AN AGENDA FOR EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION; WE ARE PREPARED IN TURN TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS OF OTHERS. BUT THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT.

4. FOR SOME TIME THE TECHNICAL CAPACITY HAS EXISTED TO PROVIDE A TOLERABLE STANDARD OF LIFE FOR THE WORLD'S FOUR BILLION PEOPLE. BUT WE -- THE WORLD COMMUNITY -- MUST SHAPE THE POLITICAL WILL TO DO SO. FOR MAN STANDS NOT SIMPLY AT A PLATEAU OF TECHNICAL ABILITY; HE STANDS AT A POINT OF MORAL CHOICE. WHEN THE ANCIENT DREAM OF MANKIND -- A WORLD WITHOUT POVERTY -- BECOMES A POSSIBILITY, OUR PROFOUND MORAL CONVICTIONS MAKE IT ALSO OUR DUTY. AND THE CONVENING OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION BEARS WITNESS THAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS HAS BECOME A CENTRAL AND URGENT CONCERN OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

5. THE GLOBAL ORDER OF COLONIAL POWER, THAT LASTED THROUGH CENTURIES, HAS LONG SINCE DISAPPEARED; THE COLD WAR DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO TWO RIGID BLOCS HAS NOW ALSO BROKEN DOWN. WE NOW LIVE IN A WORLD OF SOME 150 NATIONS. WE LIVE IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF CONTINUING CONFLICTS, PROLIFERATING WEAPONS, AND NEW IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS AND ECONOMIC RIVALRY. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR CLAIM FOR A GREATER ROLE
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IN DIPLOMACY, FOR MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR ECONOMIC DESTINY, AND FOR A JUST SHARE IN GLOBAL PROSPERITY. THE ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR CLAIM FOR RELIABLE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY, RAW MATERIALS, AND OTHER PRODUCTS, AT A FAIR PRICE; THEY SEEK STABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND EXPANDING WORLD TRADE, FOR THESE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN SOCIETIES.

6. THESE ECONOMIC ISSUES HAVE ALREADY BECOME THE SUBJECT OF MOUNTING CONFRONTATIONS -- EMBARGOES, CARTELS, SEIZURES, COUNTERMEASURES, AND BITTER RHETORIC. OVER THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY, SHOULD THIS TREND CONTINUE, THE DIVISION OF THE PLANET BETWEEN NORTH

AND SOUTH, BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, COULD BECOME AS GRIM AS THE DARKEST DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. WE WOULD ENTER AN AGE OF FESTERING RESENTMENT, OF INCREASED RESORT TO ECONOMIC WARFARE, A HARDENING OF NEW BLOCS, THE UNDERMINING OF COOPERATION, THE EROSION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -- AND FAILED DEVELOPMENT.

7. CAN WE RECONCILE OUR COMPETING GOALS? CAN WE BUILD A NEW WORLD ORDER, BY CONSCIOUS PURPOSE, OUT OF THE EQUALITY AND COOPERATION OF STATES? CAN WE TURN THE ENERGIES OF ALL NATIONS TO THE TASKS OF HUMAN PROGRESS? THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME.

8. WE PROFOUNDLY BELIEVE THAT NEITHER THE POOR NOR THE RICH NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES IN ISOLATION. NEITHER CAN EXTORT THEM FROM THE OTHER -- THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LEAST OF ALL. FOR THEY WOULD PAY THE GREATER COST OF A DIVISION OF THE PLANET, WHICH WOULD CUT THEM OFF NEEDLESSLY FROM SOURCES OF CAPITAL AND MARKETS ESSENTIAL TO THEIR OWN PROGRESS.

9. NOR ARE WE CONVINCED BY THE FASHIONABLE DOCTRINE THAT IF OTHERS GROW WORSE OFF, WE WILL BE WORSE OFF.

THE WORLD MIGHT BE A BETTER PLACE IF THIS WERE SO,
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AND IF EVERYONE KNEW IT TO BE SO. BUT IT IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. BUT THERE IS AN OPPOSITE PROPOSITION, WHICH WE BELIEVE IS TRUE: WE KNOW THAT IF OTHERS GROW BETTER OFF, WE WILL GROWN BETTER OFF. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM THRIVES IF ALL WHO TAKE PART IN IT THRIVE. THIS IS NO THEORY; IT IS OUR OWN EXPERIENCE. AND IT IS AN EXPERIENCE THAT WE, A PEOPLE UNIQUELY DRAWN FROM ALL THE OTHER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, TRULY DESIRE AND HOPE TO SHARE WITH OTHERS.

10. THEREFORE IT IS TIME TO GO BEYOND THE DOCTRINES LEFT OVER FROM A PREVIOUS CENTURY THAT ARE MADE

OBSOLETE BY MODERN REALITY.

11. HISTORY HAS LEFT US THE LEGACY OF NATIONALISM --

DISCREDITED IN THIS CENTURY BY ITS BRUTAL EXCESSES

A GENERATION AGO, AND BY ITS PATENT INADEQUACY FOR THE

ECONOMIC NEEDS OF OUR TIME. THE ECONOMY IS GLOBAL.

RECESSIONS, INFLATION, TRADE RELATIONS, THE STABILITY

OF CURRENCIES, GLUTS AND SCARCITIES OF PRODUCTS AND

MATERIALS, THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES --

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THESE ARE INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENA AND CALL FOR

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES.

12. HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US DISCREDITED DOCTRINES

OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND STRUGGLE. ONE OF THE

IRONIES OF OUR TIME IS THAT AN IDEOLOGY BASED ON

MATERIALISM, THAT PROMISED ECONOMIC JUSTICE, HAS DONE

SO POORLY IN RAISING THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF

WEALTH. AND CONTRARY TO THE IDEOLOGIES OF DESPAIR,

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN INCREASING THEIR PER

CAPITA INCOMES AT FAR FASTER RATES THAN OBTAINED

HISTORICALLY IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN COMPARABLE
STAGES OF THEIR GROWTH.

13. IT IS ALSO IRONIC THAT A PHILOSOPHY OF NONALIGNMENT,

DESIGNED TO ALLOW NEW NATIONS TO MAKE THEIR NATIONAL

CHOICES FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF COMPETING BLOCS,

NOW HAS PRODUCED A BLOC OF ITS OWN -- PERHAPS THE MOST

RIGID BLOC NOW EXISTING. NATIONS WITH RADICALLY

DIFFERENT ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND WITH ENTIRELY DIFFERENT
POLITICAL CONCERNS ARE COMBINED IN A KIND OF SOLIDARITY
THAT OFTEN CLEARLY SACRIFICES PRACTICAL INTERESTS. AND
IT IS IRONIC ALSO THAT THE MOST DEVASTATING BLOW TO
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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THIS DECADE CAME NOT FROM
"IMPERIALIST RAPACITY" BUT FROM AN ARBITRARY
MONOPOLISTIC PRICE INCREASE BY THE CARTEL OF OIL
PRODUCERS.

14. THE REALITY IS THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY IS A
SINGLE GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TRADE AND MONETARY RELATIONS
ON WHICH HINGES THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR ECONOMIES.
THE ADVANCED NATIONS HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE GROWTH
OF MARKETS AND PRODUCTION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD;
WITH EQUAL CONVICTION WE STATE THAT THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES HAVE A STAKE IN THE MARKETS, TECHNOLOGICAL
INNOVATION AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL
COUNTRIES.

15. THEREFORE, THE NATIONS ASSEMBLED HERE HAVE A
CHOICE: WE CAN OFFER OUR PEOPLE SLOGANS, OR WE CAN
OFFER THEM SOLUTIONS. WE CAN DEAL IN RHETORIC, OR
WE CAN DEAL IN REALITY. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE ITS
CHOICE.

16. THE UNITED STATES FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE
ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME MUST UNITE US, AND
NOT DIVIDE US.

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17. SO LET US GET DOWN TO BUSINESS. LET US PUT
ASIDE THE STERILE DEBATE OVER WHETHER A NEW ECONOMIC
ORDER IS REQUIRED OR WHETHER THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER
IS ADEQUATE. LET US LOOK FORWARD AND SHAPE THE WORLD
BEFORE US. CHANGE IS INHERENT IN WHAT WE DO, AND
WHAT WE SEEK. BUT ONE FACT DOES NOT CHANGE: THAT
WITHOUT A CONSENSUS ON THE REALITIES AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORT, WE WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING.

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS, FIRST AND FOREMOST,
ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT OUR COMMON DEVELOPMENT GOALS
CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY COOPERATION, NOT BY THE
POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION.

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS THAT ACKNOWLEDGES
OUR RESPECTIVE CONCERNS AND OUR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES.
ALL OF US HAVE RIGHTS AND ALL OF US HAVE DUTIES.

-- THE CONSENSUS MUST EMBRACE THE BROADCAST POSSIBLE
PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS. THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST HAVE A ROLE AND VOICE IN THE
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN DECISIONS THAT
AFFECT THEM. BUT THOSE WHO ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE
RESOURCES AND EFFORT TO CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS MUST
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BE GRANTED A COMMENSURATE VOICE.

18. WE HAVE LEARNED FROM EXPERIENCE THAT THE METHODS
OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OF THE 1950'S AND 60'S

ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE. NOT ONLY DID THE TECHNICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MANY PROGRAMS FALL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS. THE TRADITIONAL APPROACHES ARE LESS ACCEPTABLE TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO BECOME AN ENDLESS AND ONE-SIDED FINANCIAL BURDEN. AND THEY ARE LESS ACCEPTABLE TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO CREATE A RELATIONSHIP OF CHARITY AND DEPENDENCY, INCONSISTENT WITH EQUALITY AND SELF-RESPECT.

19. THEREFORE, WE MUST FIND NEW MEANS. THE UNITED STATES OFFERS TODAY CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON FIVE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS:

-- FIRST WE MUST APPLY INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO THE PROBLEM OF ENSURING BASIC ECONOMIC SECURITY. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO SAFEGUARD CONFIDENTIAL

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AGAINST THE ECONOMIC SHOCKS TO WHICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE: SHARP DECLINES IN THEIR EXPORT EARNINGS FROM THE CYCLE OF WORLD SUPPLY AND DEMAND, FOOD SHORTAGES AND NATURAL DISASTERS.

-- SECOND, WE MUST LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR ACCELERATED GROWTH. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO IMPROVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ACCESS TO CAPITAL MARKETS,

TO FOCUS AND ADAPT NEW TECHNOLOGY TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, AND TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

-- THIRD, WE MUST IMPROVE THE BASIC OPPORTUNITIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM, SO THEY CAN MAKE THEIR WAY BY EARNINGS INSTEAD OF AID.

-- FOURTH, WE MUST IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN KEY COMMODITIES ON WHICH THE ECONOMIES OF MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE DEPENDENT, AND WE MUST SET AN EXAMPLE IN IMPROVING THE PRODUCTION AND AVAILABILITY OF FOOD.

-- FIFTH, LET US ADDRESS THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHO ARE THE MOST DEVASTATED BY CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY AMONG OLD AND NEWLY WEALTHY DONORS.

20. THE DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO MOBILIZE THEIR OWN EFFORT IS INDISPENSIBLE. WITHOUT IT, NO OUTSIDE EFFORT WILL HAVE EFFECT. GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO CALL FORTH SAVINGS, TO INSTITUTE LAND REFORM, TO USE EXTERNAL AID AND CAPITAL PRODUCTIVELY, TO MANAGE AND ALLOCATE NATIONAL RESOURCES WISELY -- FOR THESE THERE ARE NO SUBSTITUTES.

21. BUT THERE MUST BE INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS NATIONAL COMMITMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DO ITS PART. THE LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HERE,

AND THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY AND THE EXECUTIVE
BRANCH HAVE COLLABORATED IN PREPARING THESE PROPOSALS,
ARE EVIDENCE OF MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT.

22. WE ASK IN RETURN A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE
ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH CONFRONT US ALL TOGETHER.
KISSINGER UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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